1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official named Uto [probably Kolomoeuto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and expose his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapililolo. The second was Siamaka. The third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive pigeon on a long cord. Tunuetefekekaekaieteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and Tulikituahaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger than the Siamafuauta in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Matauvave's *sia* and he would catch them. But the *lupetoto* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Muitoa in Haano and the name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera pacifica*.]

The mound Huluipaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. All Haapai furnished laborers for this work.

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from the ford (*ahanga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokohaangatoma. All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low tide and it was called Taaemaia. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tamatuiumee was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed [Taufa Tofua] to dwell in Tofua Island and at the same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

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only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of *losi* leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*. young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood (some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring.

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen. X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn off trespassers until the fishing had been completed.

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga.

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told:

> Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap. Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work, and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as specialists in shark fishing:

> The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaui, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.
>
> It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

Other Occupations

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women (*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding that the same assistance may be asked in return.

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For an inferior person (petty chief, matapule, or commoner) to walk by a chief's house smoking is an affront; also riding horseback, carrying an umbrella, wearing a turban (*fau*), or having a garland (*sisi*) around the neck, although a *sisi* around the waist is permitted. Conversation must stop in passing a chief's house. Breaches are subject to punishment by thrashing, often by the chief himself. The conception of a supernatural punishment seems not to be entertained.

The Hihifo district of Tongatabu is tapu. No one is allowed to sing or to yell, either in settlements or in the bush. Drums may not be beaten. People must not run about in the town, and all must wear ragged mats (*taovala*) as signs of humility. These rules are enforced because of the Tui Kanokupolu and are observed in Hihifo whether the Tui Kanokupolu is in Hihifo or in Nukualofa. Again no supernatural punishment followed a breach of these rules.

OCCUPATIONAL CEREMONIAL

Christianity has been too long established is Tonga to permit of much information being obtained to-day concerning religious practices for the furtherance of various occupations. Apparently the greatest of all ceremonials of this character was the *inasi*, or Harvest Festival, which obviously had as its aim the perpetuation of agricultural welfare. It was in honor of Hikuleo, but the offerings were brought to the Tui Tonga, whom Farmer (23, p. 129) says was the high priest of this deity, a statement which cannot be verified to-day. Cook (19, p. 336) witnessed an *inasi* ceremony at which the Tui Tonga presided. The *inasi* is also described by Wilson (65, 66) and by Mariner (40,41).

Boat building, fishing, pigeon snaring, and presumably even rat shooting were preceded by ceremonial observances, but what these ceremonies were I did not learn except in the most casual way, as the following fragmentary notes indicate. Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 59, 60) describes observances in connection with shark fishing.

Just what ceremonies were performed at the launching of a vessel I did not learn. Before a new vessel could be boarded by a woman, however, a ceremony called *kopokivaka* was performed. This took place at or after the launching and was usually performed by a woman, though sometimes by a man.

The first shark caught in a new fishing boat (*tafaanga*) is called *tokialiu*. A celebration in honor of this event bears the same name. When five sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga* another ceremony occurs, called *fakatoululoto*. When ten sharks have been caught in a *tafaanga*, a third ceremony takes place, called *fakatouluhoko*. Thereafter sharks may be caught without further ado.

In pigeon snaring a man stood on the lookout for the pigeons at the mound. At their first appearance in the distance, looking only as big as the *nono* (defined by Baker as an insect and by the informant Havili as an insect smaller than an ant), dances

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and rejoicing were started on the mound. This went on whilst the approaching pigeons grew successively as large mosquitoes and as flies; but when they appeared as large as the *misi* bird (*Aplonis tabuensis*) the rejoicings were stopped. The chief man of the hunt took no part in these rejoicings, but sat quietly where the kava was served, and was said to be paying his reverence to the mound by his silence and non-participation.

A sport in which people formed a long line through the bush and then moved forward straight ahead, each man shooting with bow and arrow whatever came in his way was called *lautele*. Everything that was shot counted, according to one account even butterflies or flies. When they had come to the spot set as the end of the beat, they counted trophies and the man who had most won. The place where the sport was to be held was announced beforehand, and if a human being strayed into the place he was liable to become a trophy for one of the hunters.

MYTHOLOGY

The Tongan mythology, in general, resembles Samoan mythology rather than that of New Zealand and eastern Polynesia. Propinquity of the two groups would lead one to expect this. It deals both with the great gods and the lesser gods. No migration tales enter into Tongan tradition, for people are regarded as created in Tonga, not elsewhere.

The subject of Tongan mythology has been quite fully covered by Collocott and me (26), and these works give references to myths published by other writers.

The following myth was recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley:

On the eminence called Toloke [in Haano Island] in the very old days stood a god house and the keepers (there was no priest, as was often the case) were two old men, one blind, the other deaf. Now, Kui was the name of the blind one and Tuli that of the deaf. As the house was in need of a new pillar, they set to work to chop down a big toa tree. After infinite labor (they had only stone axes) the tree came crashing to earth. Whilst they were felling it a man named Mafi, who lived on the other side of the island, heard the blows of the axe and as his house, too, was needing repairs, he thought that it would be a saving of labor if he could by some means steal it. Mafi was a giant amongst men, although men were giants in those days.

Creeping softly up to where the immense tree was lying he carefully hid himself, patiently watching his chance. Presently it came. He heard Tuli tell Kui to stand by the tree, lest it should be stolen as he was going to get another axe. When Tuli had gone Mafi stepped out of his place of concealment and, imitating Tuli's voice, said: "Kui, feel about to know whether the tree has not been stolen."

Kui replied, as he put his hand on it, "No, the tree is still here."

Then Mafi stepping gently seized hold of the butt of another log about the same size and, pulling out the freshly chopped tree, substituted for it the log. Then he again said, "Kui, is the tree still there?"

"Yes," answered the blind man. Then Mafi commenced to drag his tree to the sea, and he had only got to the edge of the reef when Tuli came in sight and promptly gave chase. Mafi then grabbed the small end of the tree and started to run along the reef, the tide being out, dragging his stolen property after. Round the point of the island he went with Tuli after him, but Mafi got to his house first. Although the tree has long since rotted, Mafi's house is scattered to the four winds, and not a sign remains of the god house, yet the track where the tree was dragged is plainly visible in the reef, like a long trench from Toloke to the other side of the island.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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be injured by the wantonness or malice of the lower orders, who took every opportunity of insulting him. On the 16th of December, Finow, having a mind to go to the island of Wiha, for the recreation of shooting rats, invited Mr. Mariner to accompany him. The inhabitants of this island made great rejoicings on account of Finow's arrival. He remained there three or four days, spending the time principally in shooting rats* and birds.

One morning during Finow's stay at this island, some of the natives brought to Mr. Mariner his watch, which they had procured from out of his chest, and with looks of curiosity inquired what it was. He took it from them, wound it up, put it to the ear of one of them, and returned it: every hand was now outstretched with eagerness to take hold of it; it was applied in turns to their ears; they were astonished at the noise it made; they listened again to it; turned it on every side, and exclaimed "mo-ooi" (it is alive!): they then pinched and hit it, as if expecting it would squeak out; they looked at each other with wonder, laughed aloud, snapped their fingers, and made a sort of clucking noise with the tongue (expressing amazement). One brought

* Rats are frequently used as an article of diet by the lower orders: the chiefs shoot them merely for amusement.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival of Filimóëátoo at Foa—Description of the sport called fanna kalai—Treaty of Filimóëátoo with the chief of Hihifo, respecting the bird kalai, for Finow—Desertion of several chiefs and warriors to Tonga—Island of Tofooa, and restrictions respecting cutting down the Toa tree (Casuarina)—Volcano on this island—Certain principles among the Fiji islanders alluded to—Grave of John Norton, of Captain Bligh's boat, with some account of him—Extract from Bligh's narrative—Remarks upon the subject—Some account of a ship arriving at the island of Tonga from Botany Bay—Account given of Botany Bay by a Tonga chief and his wife, who had returned from there—Finow's ideas respecting the value and circulation of money—General slaughter of the dogs at Vavaoo, on account of their destroying the game—Their flesh cooked and eaten by several chiefs—Finow's first essay at the sport of fanna kalai with the bird from Tonga.

SHORTLY after the arrival of the prince, with Toobo Toa and Mr. Mariner, at the island of Foa, there came a canoe from Vavaoo with the Tonga chief Filimóëátoo, who, it will be recollected, was a relation of Finow, and had joined his cause at Pangaimotoo, leaving the island of Tonga for that purpose, by leave of his superior, the chief of Hihifo. Filimóëátoo was now on his return to the island of Tonga, with a

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commission from Finow to treat with the chief of Hihifo respecting a particular bird of the species called *kalai* (trained for sport). This latter chief, although belonging to the island of Tonga, was never professedly Finow's enemy, otherwise than as Finow had been associated with the late Toobó Nuha, whom the chief of Hihifo mortally hated*; but as Toobó Nuha was now dead, and consequently all cause of enmity removed, Finow was in hopes he should be able to prevail upon the chief of Hihifo to make him a present of one of the first and best trained birds, of the kind in question, that ever was known, and which this chief had trained up with great care, and had long had in his possession, though it was the envy of every chief that had seen it. This particular bird Finow was ardently desirous of, to practise the sport called *fanna kalai*, of which we shall give a description. The sportsman, armed with a bow and arrows, conceals himself within a large cage, made of a sort of wicker-work, covered over with green leaves, but not so much but what he may see his game: on the top of this cage is the cock bird tied by the leg, who makes a noise, and flaps his wings, as if calling other birds to come and fight him:

* The cause of this enmity, Mr. Mariner is not well acquainted with.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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within is a smaller cage, in which there is the hen bird, who also makes a peculiar noise, as if in answer to the one on the outside; but be this as it may, both cock birds and hens are attracted towards the spot, and are shot by the sportsman. This sport is practised by none but the king and very great chiefs, for training and keeping these birds require exceeding great care as well as great expense. One man is appointed to each pair of birds, and he has nothing else to do but to attend to the management of them; and, if this is not done with great skill, they will not make the noise necessary to attract others. So much attention, in short, is paid to these birds, that their keepers are authorised to go and demand plantains for them, of whomsoever it may be, and howsoever scarce may be this article of food, even if there were a famine, and the people almost starving: if a keeper, even on such occasions, sees a fine bunch of plantains, he will go and *taboo* it, which he does by sticking a reed in the tree, and telling the proprietor that those plantains are tabooed for the use of the birds. These keepers live well, and are, in general, very insolent fellows, sometimes committing very great depredations, under frivolous pretensions of procuring food for their birds. The sufferer sometimes makes a complaint to the king, or

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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whatever chief the keeper belongs to; and if the chief thinks the offence really outrageous, he orders the man a severe beating, which is usually done by inflicting heavy slaps with the open hand upon his bare back, or striking him about the head and face with the fist.

Filimóëátoo soon departed from Foa, on his way to Hihifo, and arrived at this place without any accident. He was not, however, so successful in the object of his journey as he expected to be; for the chief of Hihifo was by no means willing to part with a bird, which, he said, had cost great hazard to himself, and the loss of many lives, to preserve; for he had sustained wars with so many other chiefs, who had quarrelled with him on account of his refusing to give it them, that he felt, he said, more than ever resolved to keep it: but, however, as Finow had so strong a desire for an excellent and well trained bird of that kind, he would make him a present of a pair, which, although not quite so good as the one in question, yet would be found exceedingly valuable. Before parting, however, he qualified his refusal of the rare bird by saying, that if he ever did give it away, it must be after very mature deliberation, for it had already cost him a vast deal, and was certainly the best bird that had ever been trained. He was heartily glad to hear of the death of

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Toobó Nuha, and declared that no personal enmity existed on his part towards Finow; but, on the contrary, he felt so great an attachment for him, that he would most willingly return with Filimóëätoo to Vavaoo to pay a visit to Finow, but that his matabooles would not allow him. Filimóëätoo having remained a day and a night with this chief, returned with the two birds to Finow, and gave him an account of his interview with the chief of Hihifo. Finow received the present, but was by no means well pleased with the refusal of the bird, on which he had so much set his heart. The following morning, however, he went out to try his success with these two, and which so far exceeded his expectations, that he wanted more than ever to have the excellent bird, and he immediately set about to obtain it by rich presents. He accordingly got ready sea-horses' teeth, beads, axes, a looking-glass, several iron bolts, and a grinding stone, all of which he had procured from European ships, and chiefly from the Port au Prince. Besides these things, he ordered to be got ready several bales of Vavaoo *gnatoo*, fine Hamoa mats, and a large quantity of cava; the whole of which he gave in charge to Filimóëätoo to take immediately to Hihifo, and present them to the chief, except some of the cava, which he was to distribute among the

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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223 lower chiefs and matabooles, to engage them
661 more readily in his interest. Finow himself ac-
634 companied Filimóëätoo as far as Häáno, (one of
431 the Hapai islands,) and took many of his prin-
223 cipal chiefs along with him, with a view of les-
661 sening the consumption of food at Vavaoo. On
634 this expedition there were five canoes, all of
431 which arrived safe at Häáno; and from this
484 island Filimóëätoo proceeded in one canoe with thirty men to Hihifo, where he also arrived safe, and distributed his presents.

223 The chief of Hihifo, on this second urgent
661 application from Finow, after some considera-
634 tion, answered, that as he could not make any
[565] use of the bird himself, his time being so much
[577] taken up in constant warfare with his neighbours, and as *it would not be consistent with the character of a chief** to retain from another that which he could not use himself, he would, at once, resign the bird to Finow, notwithstanding the high value he placed on it, and the immense care and trouble it had cost him. This famous bird was accordingly consigned to the charge of Filimóëätoo, who returned with all convenient speed to tell the king the
634 success of his journey. Finow was still at the
223

* The chiefs, among themselves, use this sort of expression,—as in civilized countries one would say, *it is not acting like a gentleman.*

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Hapai islands, when he received his long wished-for present; but he made no use of it till about three weeks afterwards, when he had returned to Vavaoo. In the mean time Maccapapa, Lolo hea Bibigi, and three others, all chiefs and warriors, secretly left Vavaoo, and sailed for Tonga, to join Taky', chief of the fortress of Bea (who formerly burnt Finow's fortress of Nioocalofa in so treacherous a manner). They took this step, being apprehensive that the king might hereafter wreak his vengeance on them for fighting against him: the sequel will show how far their apprehensions were well grounded.

Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands, Mr. Mariner accompanied the prince to the island of Tofooa, to procure iron-wood, which is found there in great abundance. The prince first obtained leave from Tooitonga, (the divine chief,) for this island is his property, and therefore considered sacred; besides, it is supposed to be the residence of the sea gods, and on this account the people firmly believe that no sharks will hurt a man who is swimming near upon its coast, but, on the contrary, swim round him, and even pass so close as to touch him, without shewing the least hungry disposition. Mr. Mariner, however, never had an

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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the occasion; but on these several of the chiefs made a hearty repast. Finow was particularly fond of dog's flesh, but he ordered it to be called pork; because women and many men had a degree of abhorrence at this sort of diet. The parts of the dog in most esteem are the neck and hinder quarters. The animal is killed by blows on the head, and cooked in the same manner as a hog: Mr. Mariner has frequently partaken of it, and found it very good; the fat is considered excellent. At the Sandwich islands the practice was almost universal in Mr. Mariner's time, so that more dog's flesh was eaten than pork: the hogs being preserved to be used as a trading commodity with European and American vessels. At these last mentioned islands most of the male dogs are operated upon, and afterwards fattened for the express purpose; and Mr. Mariner thinks their flesh is nearly as good and tender as that of a sucking pig.

Finow having ordered all things to be got ready, went out early in the morning after his arrival, to try the excellence of his bird; and had very great sport. The day following he went out again; but the bird, from some cause or another, would not make any noise; and this made him so angry that he knocked it on the ground, and beat it with an arrow,

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223 634 and, after having almost killed it, gave it away to one of his chiefs, declaring how vexatious it was to have a bird that would not speak after having had so much trouble with it. He afterwards used the two birds that were first sent to him, and was tolerably well satisfied with them.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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posed or artificial reasons for each move is the most difficult part of the game, because it will vary according to the order of each of the moves that preceded it. When four play, they sit as in our game of whist, but each is the antagonist of the one opposite to him; and when one has got out his five sticks, he assists his partner by taking one or two of his sticks, and continuing to play. The rapidity with which these motions are made is almost incredible, and no inexperienced eye can catch one of them: the eagerness with which they play, the enthusiasm which they work themselves into, the readiness with which those that are clever give the requisite explanation to every combination of signs, always appear very extraordinary to a stranger.

Fanna Kalai: for a description of this sport, see Vol. I. p. 234.

Fanna Gooma, or rat-shooting: for a description of this sport, see Vol. I. p. 267.

Jia Loobe, catching pigeons with a net. This is not a very usual sport at present, though formerly it used to be. The net used for the purpose is small, with a narrow opening, affixed to the end of a rod of about twelve feet in length: the sportsman who holds it is concealed in a small cabin about five feet high, nearly in form of a bee-hive, in which there is a perpendicular

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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223 345 slit dividing it quite in half, by which he can move his rod completely from side to side. There are eight or nine of these cabins, in each of which perhaps there is a sportsman with his net: the only mode of entrance is by separating the two halves of the cabin from each other. These receptacles are usually situated round
223 the upper part of a raised mount. On the outside of each there is a trained pigeon tied by the leg, and near at hand stands an attendant with another trained bird, tied in like manner to the end of a very long line, which is suffered to fly out to the whole extent of the string, the other end being held by the man: the pigeon thus describes a considerable circle in the air round the mount beneath: the flight of this bird, and the constant cooing of those below, attract a number of wild pigeons to the neighbourhood, when the man by checking the string calls in his pigeon, which immediately perches upon his finger: he then conceals himself with the other attendants, in a sort of alcove at the top of the mount. The wild pigeons now approaching the tame ones, are caught in the nets by the dexterous management of the sportsmen.

226 *Alo*, catching Bonito. This is performed by a line and hook affixed to a long bamboo, and is so placed that the line falls very near the

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

in, and for the care and convenience of the huntsmen. Provisionally, but with little confidence I have translated as though buildings of this sort are referred to. The word *ka* is frequently used, as here, between noun and adjective, indicating that the quality referred to by the adjective is possessed in a high degree.

6. Literally, "Ka ta naka heu elito'i hea" means "We shall handle [for] snaring [of] *elitoi hea*." There seems no special reason for mentioning the wood *elitoi hea* except that it was frequently used for making the frame of the pigeon net. *Naka* is properly the handle of the net, but here the word is used verbally, and means "we [shall use as a] handle." The net was fixed between two long poles, hinged like a pair of scissors, with forks on the lower ends (*muniao*) to rest on the thigh, and was closed when the birds entered by pressing the handles together. The *naka* is the part between the hinge and the *muniao*, and was of considerable length. The man who wielded the net was covered with leaves, and sat in a tree on a convenient rest made for that purpose. There is a verse describing the snarer's operations:

Ta ki tu'a 'ae kau-fanga,	Strike outwards the *kaufanga*,
Ta ki loto 'ae kau-vao,	Strike inwards the *kauvao*,
Pea ta omi 'ae muniao,	And press down the *muniao*,
Pea kuku kau-naka.	And grasp the handle.

The *kaufanga* and *kauvao* are the two sides respectively of the frame just where the net hangs. The *naka* was long so that the net projected from the hiding-place, and was turned about in all directions to intercept the flying birds. "Strike outwards, strike inwards," perhaps mean no more than open the net well, one side opening away from the tree, and the other towards it.

7. The word *ahe ia*, sung by the chorus, probably marks a change of key or tune. The rhyme changes at the lines where *ahe ia* appears.

8. Duck in its flying "Toloa ene puna" is a pun on the name of this surf riding beach. The flying of this duck is the flying spray.

Page 107. A poem of Veehala

1. The author is probably a bard of Hihifo. References to a man-of-war, and to a book, indicate that the poem was composed after the introduction of Christianity, or at any rate after contact with Europeans. It is a complaint that some ill advised action has become magnified in common talk out of all proportion to the real fault.

2. The more obvious meaning of this line is that his life is very sweet to him; but it is possible that the meaning is that he has become a choice tit-bit to the gossips, it has been so interpreted by a very competent Tongan.

3. By "talk of death," "mention of death," is meant either that the accusation against him places his life in danger, or, that the report is that he has caused the death of someone. Perhaps both meanings are included.

4. Here is recalled the fact that there is a great chief who will give protection, evidently a chief of Hihifo, and quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu himself. This is indicated in two metaphors, one of pigeon-snaring, and the other of bonito-fishing. Matamoana is a pigeon mound in Hihifo. The idea is repeated in the metaphor of the Sacred Reef, Hakau Tapu, a fishing ground of the Hihifo chiefs.

5. A double meaning is introduced, both to go early in the morning to a fishing ground and to go to a chief with a presentation (*pongipongi*). The line means that a wise man goes quickly when the propitious time arrives.

6. A sigh for the good old days, before the invasion of the new-fangled book learning and ways. What he had done would have caused little comment in the old "foolish" and "dark" days; it was merely the sort of thing that any old heathen might have done; but now it has become a subject of talk in the assembly (*fono*); or, that it has been talked about as much as if it had been of sufficient importance to be placed before one of these gatherings.

7. "The book left in Hihifo," the Reverend J. Thomas, the pioneer of the effective Christianization of the group, landed in Hihifo in 1826; though Nukualofa, where there were two other missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist church. Before the Wesleyans came, Hihifo was the center for the ill-fated band of missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society, who landed in 1797 and who were forced to leave the group soon after the outbreak of war in 1800, leaving three of their men as martyrs.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a pigeon mound also has some foundation. It seems probable that there was a type of *esi* specially used by chiefly persons while visiting favorite hunting grounds. Pigeon snaring from artificial mounds was a chiefly sport. *Esi* conveniently adjoining the pigeon mounds would permit a chief, at times when active hunting tired or bored him, to sit in a pleasant shade, surrounded by fragrant flowers, and view from his elevated position the activities of his hunting henchmen.

3. Mound on the beach just below the town of Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau.

This mound, which is said to be an *esi*, consists of a stone wall surrounding three sides of a rectangular area. The fourth side, facing the sea, was destroyed a number of years ago by a hurricane. Previous to that, the stone enclosure is said to have been nearly filled with earth and sand to constitute a platform.

The retaining wall inclosing an area 15 feet by 30 feet is constructed of rectangular slabs of coral stone set on edge, each stone being set about 1 foot into the ground to insure its vertical position. The stones are smoothly dressed and rather sharply edged, although there is no apparent mark of steel tools upon them. They average 0.7 foot in thickness, 2 feet in height above the ground, and range from 2 to 6 feet in length. All stones are of even height with the exception of monumental stones placed one at each corner and one approximately at the center of each side. The seven of these eight stones now standing average 3 feet in height; the highest measures 4.7 feet. They are specially shaped by cutting an ornamental upper edge, some resembling the old-fashioned tablet form of European grave headstones (fig. 3).

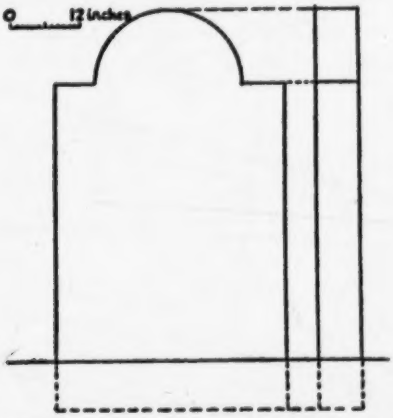

FIGURE 3.—Plan of monumental stone in an *esi* mound near Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau.

The shape of the mound at Utungake suggests European influence, but the fact that similar forms of monumental stones appear in a ruin on Fanning Island, recently investigated by Emory (7), undoubtedly of Tongan

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

who lived there until Pau died and the causeway project was abandoned. This narrative does not account for the central pit of the mound (Tongan houses did not have pits within them), nor does it explain why the Tui Tonga Fefine should have had such a grand foundation for her house at this place of temporary dwelling, while neither she nor any other Tongan was accustomed to large elevated platforms at their places of permanent residence. There is no evidence on the Tukutonga side of the lagoon of the causeway said to have been begun by Pau and if there is any foundation of truth to the story it seems more probable that a mound, already in existence, was selected as a suitable site for the house of the Tui Tonga Fefine on account of the low, wet ground. But this does not explain the purpose for which the mound was originally built. Cook says definitely that it was called an "etchee" *(esi)* belonging to the Tui Tonga of his time, Poulaho, and that it was of "no modern date," which information sheds no light upon the builder or the original use of the structure. It is here classed with *esi* because of its remarkable similarity to Kafoa. It may be that some mounds, originally built as pigeon mounds, were converted through use into *esi*.

PIGEON MOUNDS

Classification

Pigeon mounds or *siaheulupe* (*sia*, mound; *heu*, pigeon snare; *lupe*, wild pigeon), are natural structures, artificial structures, or artificial structures situated upon natural risings exclusively employed by chiefs and their retainers as places to which wild pigeons could easily be decoyed and snared.

Men of less than chiefly rank often snared pigeons for food using the *heu*, a large, two poled net which did not necessarily involve the use of any sort of mound. But pigeon snaring as participated in by chieftains was a highly organized sport for which the mound was deemed essential. As a matter of fact, the practical purpose of the mound is not altogether clear, unless it furnished the wielders of the *heu* net an increased elevation, and so increased their reach.

In describing the method of snaring pigeons, informants speak of two types of mounds. Type I, present in all provinces where pigeon mounds were located, possessed two essential features: (a) a circular platform of stone, or of earth, supported by stone retaining walls, rising several feet above the surrounding ground; (b) a centrally located pit averaging 20 feet in diameter, as deep as the artificial mound was high, and laterally lined with perpendicular retaining walls of stone.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 345 223 Briefly, the mound was used as follows: The sportsmen occupied the structure, some on the mound surface where they manipulated the *heu* poles, and some in the pit to take the pigeons from the snare. Captive pigeons, attached to long cords, were allowed to fly among the tree tops above the mound where they served as decoys to attract their wild kin. When the wild pigeons came, lured by the calls of the decoys, the *heu* manipulators dropped the net over them and brought them down into the pit, where they were caught and disposed of by the men assigned to that task.

The mounds of Type II lacked the large, deep, central pit of Type I. In its place was a depression 15 to 20 feet in diameter and seldom more than 1 foot in depth. One informant explained that the *heu* manipulators lay prone in these depressions, but such an explanation, unsupported by corroborative testimony, is of doubtful value. No good argument offers itself to show the practical necessity for a pit of any character in such structures, but the shallow type of pit seems especially useless. These shallow pits might be regarded as more or less useless survivals of the more archaic, deeply pitted mounds, but no evidence for such an assumption is apparent. In the following descriptions of pigeon mounds only artificial ones are included.

172 345 [128]

Mounds in Vavau

1. Kaufotutata, on the eastern outskirts of the town of Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau, Type I.

Kaufotutata stands on a natural rising overlooking the sea to the north. Its measurements are: diameter at base, 100 feet; diameter at top, 80 feet; height, depending upon ground contour, 3 to 7 feet. Its sloping sides are faced with a compact layer of rough coral stones. The pit, originally about 19 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep, has recently been filled to allow a house to be built. Its sides are vertically walled with stones like those used in the outer wall. From the south, a dirt road 20 feet long and 6 feet wide leads to the top of the mound. The stone work of the mound is continued along the road with similar slopes. This pigeon mound was built, according to tradition, by a prince of the Tui Tonga family named Moka.

[491]

Other pigeon mounds are reported from Vavau, but these were not located, unless Kafoa (p. 11) served at times in that capacity.

Mounds on Ualeva

[223] Judging from the number of pigeon mounds, the island of Ualeva, Haapai, must have had at one time an enviable reputation as a place for pigeon snaring. Local informants agree that these were built by Matauvave I, who was the first known administrator of Haapai to be appointed by the Tongan kings. Geneological evidence places the time for his assuming this office at about 1540-1550 A. D.

[173]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 524 piece and knock his opponent's piece off the mat, make it jump off the mat, without disturbing his own first piece. If this move is brought off successfully the man who makes it will have two pieces of his own in good positions, and will have put one of his opponent's pieces out of action. Proverbially it means that there is an obstacle ahead but it can be shifted.

HEU LUPE

223 The sport of *heu lupe*, pigeon catching, was carried out on a mound. Trained pigeons were used as decoys, and when the quarry approached near enough it was caught in a large net mounted on a pair of long handles hinged near the bottom end. The man who manipulated the net closed the mouth of it when the pigeon was inside by bringing the hinged handles together.

539 223 **587. Ala i jia ala i kolonga:** Skillful in *jia*, skillful in *kolonga*. This expression originates in the sport of pigeon snaring. The mound where the snaring was actually carried out is called the *jia* and the place where the work (largely culinary) necessary for the comfort of the sportsmen was done is called the *kolonga*. This expression means literally a man whose energy and ability are equally conspicuous in either place, and is freely used of a good all-round man. [157] [829]

588. Fakalaa i jia melie: Enduring sun on lucky pigeon mound. Although the principal times for the pigeon snaring are the morning and evening, yet one will put up with the inconveniences of the midday sun if the sport be good. So in any pursuit one will put up with inconveniences and hardships so long as his object is attained. [183]

589. Fakalaa i jia tamaki: Enduring sun in bad pigeon-mound. The reverse of No. 589; enduring hardship and inconvenience for what after all proves to be not worth the pains. [183]

590. Faka-mui-manoa: At end of tethering cord. The *manoa* is the cord with which the tame decoy pigeon was tied. However far the pigeon went it could always be traced along the cord, provided that the near end of the cord was still in hand. It is applied to a thing that has been out of sight for some time, but is at last traced up and found.

Another explanation given is that the decoy pigeon has reached its quarry without all the cord running out, there is still more to follow, and it is said to be applied to a conversation or other employment discontinued for the time, but "to be continued in our next." (See No. 591.) [521]

591. Motu manoa: Separated (from) tethering cord. The cord with which a decoy pigeon is tied has run out to its full length and been let go. Applied to a thing which is finished; there is no more to follow.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

592. Koe fakanavau ke ha? To mark for what? 539 223 422 431 571

The *navau* is a distinguishing mark fixed to the body of an animal, particularly the mark tied to the leg of the tame decoy pigeon. This is used of marking what is obvious; what is the use of marking what is plain to everyone? It is also used as a very open-hearted and genial response to one who comes to make a request. What are you asking for? Anything that I have and you want, just take and welcome.

593. Kuku kaunaka: Grasp handle. 539 223 183

A phrase of the pigeon snaring, being an injunction to the men who handled nets to hold the handles firmly lest the birds escape. Like *"Puke-puke a fufula,"* "Seize the big pig," it is an exhortation to devote one's attention and energy to the task in hand.

594. Mounu vaoa: Decoy pigeon taken to the woods.

Applied to one who has relapsed into bad old habits, like the decoy bird who after all his taming and training has gone wild again.

BOXING, WRESTLING, CUDGEL PLAY

[These sports often formed part of important ceremonies and celebrations.] 526

595. Ta ji ta lahi ta atu pea ke tangi: Little one hits, big one hits, go on hitting, and you will cry. 539 526 571 578 829

The little one can cause very little pain to the big chap by his blows, but the big fellow can make himself felt by the little one. So if it comes to an exchange of blows between the big chap and the little chap it will end in tears for the little one.

This is a word of wisdom, advising the little fellow to be modestly cautious about whom he undertakes to fight.

596. Va feinofi: Striking distance. 539 526

Primarily a boxing phrase, particularly of the sport called *toutakao* in which a number of combatants participated, men choosing their opponents more or less at random. *Feinofi* means shaping at each other, challenging each other, and *va feinofi* is used of two men who are close enough to each other to spar. Thence simply "close."

597. Fetaaki a feiloaki: Cudgel play of men used to each other.

This indicates that each man gives a fine exhibition, as, being accustomed to the other's strokes and style, his own game has the precision that such experience always gives. The point that is emphasized is that both men fight like experts. (See Nos. 468 and 469.)

598. Ojioji palalafa: Coconut-leaf stem finished.

The coconut-leaf stem was used in practising for the club or single-sticks matches *(fetaaki)*. To finish the coconut-leaf stem, or to do one's

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

caught when wild-eyed, shrieking children are allowed to hunt them down.

There are a few dogs and a few cats in the village. The villager however, shows little interest in animals that are neither a potential source of food nor of value in lightening the burden of work.

There is no snaring of wild birds nor any attempt to make wild birds a part of the dietary. Flying-foxes are abundant on the higher cliffs of the island. Only one man in the village, a native of Niuafo'ou, shows any interest in these as an article of food. He occasionally traps them by knocking them with a pole into a net. None of the villagers has bothered to learn the technique. Part of the reason for this may lie in the fact that in ancient Tonga the flying-fox was one of the animals sacred to the Tongan deities. Possibly there has been a survival of this *tapu* attitude toward the flying-fox even though the villager is not aware of the reason for this attitude.

Economic Education

The growing child is inducted into the economic activities of the group very gradually and without many tears. He or she takes on economic duties according to the strength and skill at the moment. Thus, the six year old girl can start a fire and wash a few clothes though she will as yet make no attempt at cooking. The eight or nine year old boy is already being sent independently to the bush plantation to bring back food and firewood. By this age he is certainly capable of rendering assistance to the household in agricultural work. How much assistance he does render depends largely on the make-up of the household (on the number, that is, of able-bodied adult men in the group) and his ability to disappear with a gang of playmates whenever he senses his services may be in demand. A girl of twelve is already a good cook and housekeeper although she will not yet have learned to make mats. She will begin to learn mat-making techniques between the ages of twelve and sixteen, depending upon the interest of the mother as well as of the girl herself and her industriousness. She will have learned already the techniques of beating out bark cloth though the skills involved in stencilling such cloth and preparing the

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

before us, I hauled into a bay which lays between the South end of Lefooga and the North end of Ooleva, and there anchored in 17 fathom water, the bottom sand with here and there rock. The Discovery did not get to an anchor till sunset, she touched upon one of the Shoals, but backed off again without receiving any damage.

As soon as we had anchored I sent Mr Bligh to Sound the bay in which we lay and my self accompaned by Mr Gore, landed on the Southe[r]n part of Lefooga to examine the Country and look for fresh water, not that we wanted any having filled all our casks at the last place, but had been told that at this part of the island was some better than any we had met with. This will not be the only time I shall have to remark that these people do not know what good Water is. We were conducted to two wells and found the Water bad in both and the Natives told us they had no better.[1] Near the South end of the Island and on the West side, we met with a artificial Mount, that had been raised in remote times, as large trees &c[a] were growing upon it. I judged it to be about Forty feet high and the Diameter of its summit measured fifty.[2] At the foot of this Mount stood a stone which must have been hewn out of Coral rock, it was 4 feet broad 2½ thick and 14 high, and we were told by the Natives present that not above half its length was above ground. They called it Tangata (Man) or Arekee (King) and told us that it was set up and the Mount raised by some of their fore Fathers in memory of one of their Kings, but how long sence they could not tell.[3] Night coming on we returned on board, and at the same time Mr Bligh from sounding the bay, in which he found from 14 to 20 fathoms water, the bottom for the most

[1] Natives of coral islands did not feel the need of water for drinking, and what they had was good enough for fresh-water washing. Hence the difference of opinion between Tongans and Cook about what was 'good' water. Cook's men followed the native example, e.g. with the muddy and brackish fluid at Nomuka—'but the milk of the cocoanuts in a great mesure made up for the badness of it; as they were so plentifull that we seldom drank any thing else'.—Gilbert.

[2] 'In many of our walks about this Island we saw more numerous & extensive plantations than at Anamocka, & in better order; yet towards the sea side particularly to the Eastward, the country is still waste owing perhaps to its being a sandy soil; an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of trees surrounding a green plot attract'd our notice; we were busy in forming conjectures as to the use of this spot, when we learnt that it was only a decoy for Pidgeons, being inticed thither by its shade & coolness, & likely by the natives putting some thing they like, whilst they hide themselves among the shrubs, & with a net throw over & catch them.'—King, 21 May. This artificial mount has now crumbled away, and Lifuka is virtually flat from one end to the other. *Siahuluipe* was the name given to the mount where wild pigeons (*lupe*) were snared. As Uoleva, the next island south, had a large number of pigeon mounds, and seems to have been a favourite spot for the chiefly sport, this mound may quite likely have belonged to the same series.

[3] The great stone no longer exists, except possibly underground. There are much smaller monumental stones extant, some built into *langi*, and there are said to be two monoliths as far away from Lifuka as Niuatoputapu, important enough to have names. But the only familiar thing of the sort is the great trilithon called Ha'amonga 'a Maui, at Hahake near Kolonga on Tongatapu, which many date from as early as the eleventh century.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

333 of a sting-ray fited upon a piece of wood, served as a polisher; for
412 small work they make use of Sharks teeth and Shells.
237 *Tillage* The Instruments for *Tillage*, in which they may be said to vie with Europeans, are nothing more than Pickets, or Stakes of different lengths according to the depth they have to dig,
241 they are flaten'd and sharpened to a edge at one end and the largest
412 have a short piece fastened transversely a little above it, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent.

721 *War and Weapons* The art of War is not unknown to these people though perhaps they practise it as little as any nation upon earth; for except their occasional disputes with Fidge[e], before mentioned, they seem to have no Enimies round them. Their
713 Weapons are clubs of defferent sorts, in the making, or rather Orna-
411 menting of which they spend much time, Spears and darts; they have
531 bows and arrows but they seemed to be designed only for amusement and not as a Military weapon.[1]

642 *Goverment* Of the nature of Goverment we know no more than the general out line, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body
643 politic I confess my self totally ignorant.[2] Some have told us that the
565 power of the King is unlimited and that the life and property of the
421 Subject is at his disposal; but the few circumstances that fell under our observation, made more against than for a dispotic Goverment though we saw instances of both, and some that clearly shewed that the lower order of people have no property but at the will of their
643 masters.[3] On the other hand *Marriwaggy*, Old *Toobough* and *Feenough*,
634 acted each like petty Sovereigns and frequently thwarted the meas-

223 [1] They shot pigeons with them, as an aristocratic diversion.
565 [2] Not without reason, considering the complicated nature of the Tongan power-
517 structure. I do not annotate some of the sentences that follow, in which Cook repeats statements already annotated, however erroneous they may be.

[3] '. . . we saw instances, where present Passion seem'd to be their only guide, & where had they killd the Objects of their wrath they woud have been amenable neither to justice nor to a superior; but as the common people by no means appear dispiritd or any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness & benevolence of their masters, insures them against an ill use of their Authority. . . . Upon the whole the Friendly Islanders have the appearance of enjoying most of the Advantages aris'ing from a regular Government, few even surpass them in the great order they observe on all Occasions, in their ready compliance with the Commands of their Superiors, & the great harmony which subsists amongst all ranks; & none in the general sweetness & mildness of their tempers. We see many things worthy of imitation, few of blame; wou'd to God they cou'd say the same of us, but we have left them an incurable disorder which will for ever embitter their quiet & happy lives, & make them curse the hour they ever saw us.'—King.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

times the size of the largest we had yet seen. The islands almost incircled us now and we tack'd standing to the NE, but at five stood back again, soon after which two Canoes one with four & the other with three men paddled towards us and came along side without the least hesitation. They brought some Cocoa nuts, Bread fruit, plantanes and sugar cane which they gave in exchange for small nails and knives. One of the Indians came on board and when they left us another Canoe came but did not stay long as night was approaching, for the nearest island was five or six miles off which was that with three hummocks, and sufficiently shows the hazard these people would run to posess a few of our triffling articles. We sounded at this time and had 40 fathom but soon after only 17, on which we made the signal for the Discovery to anchor which we did about six o clock in a bottom of coarse Coral sand with bits of shells.

TUESDAY 29. *Therm.* 75½:76½:80½:79:78:76½. The wind about N except part of the forenoon when it chang'd suddenly and came from WSW with a great deal of heavy rain. The rest of the day moderate breezes with the weather dull or cloudy and a sultry air. About five in the morning we sent two boats to the nearest island which lay in our way and was that mention'd last night, that they might purchase vegetables and meet us as we came up to it. Soon after we weigh'd and stood towards it but made several tacks as the wind was foul, in which time six or seven canoes came from different islands and brought bread fruit, plantanes and yams which they exchang'd as yesterday evening. They also brought several fowls, a great many shaddocks, and an old man who had been on board last night made the Captain a present of a pretty large hog. Besides these they also exchang'd pieces of cloth, fish hooks, small baskets, musical reeds and some clubs, spears and bows, as well as some large wood Pigeons,[1] small rails[2] and large violet colour'd Coots.[3] They retreated when the rain was violent, about which time one of our boats return'd with a considerable quantity of bread fruit, yams, plantanes and some grass for the cattle. The other return'd soon after noon with more vegetables, some fowls and seven young hogs, so that altogether we had procurd as much bread fruit and other Vegetables as serv'd our people to day, which with an addition brought by several more Canoes in the afternoon also ennabled us to spare some to the Discovery and reserve enough to ourselves for another day. Our people were very civilly treated by the Indians at the island, who sold them the bread fruit for a bead each and the hogs for a small hatchet

[1] *Globicera pacifica.* [2] The Spotless Crake, *Porzana tabuensis.* [3] *Porphyrio melanotus.*

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that it was almost impossible to stir.

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and we found large spots well planted with the Morus papyrifera (paper Mulberry),[1] but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of having no good water that we could see, for though we found several ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made us understand people sate to catch pigeons.[2] At another place was a house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort publickly to;[3] and near the landing place we saw one of their burying grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.[4] Most of the

[1] *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.
[2] Tongan *mala'e*.
[3] One of the mounds called *sialupa*.
[4] A *fa'itoka*.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

which is the small isle next to it, that we might go in a direct course for Anna'mooka and found it safe as far as he went.

On a report of the Indians that Hoolaiva though almost as large as Lai'fooga was neither inhabited nor cultivated I went on shore to see it, and found their account true, for there is neither the least mark of culture or habitation upon it except one hut where a person resides to catch fish and Turtle. It is rather uncommon that it should be in this situation when that next to it is so perfectly cultivated and the inhabitants can walk from one to the other at low water, for though the soil is quite sandy and there is not good water upon it why might not the Cocoa palms, an article so usefull here (and which thrive in the midst of sand), be planted or indeed other articles, for it produces all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the other islands with the greatest vigour. The east side has a reef like Lai'fooga from whence we could see no island except Ta'taffa, and the west side has a bending at the N part where there seems good anchorage. We found an artificial mount like that at Hapaee raisd as high as some of the surrounding trees with an arbour upon it for catching Pigeons.

Three large sailing Canoes with people who seem'd strangers has come to the ship, in one of which was a person nam'd Futta'faihe[1] or Poulaho who said he was chief of Amsterdam & all the islands we had seen or heard of. On mentioning that Feenou had pass'd as such with us, he said that he was indeed a person of power in Amsterdam and often sent on warlike expeditions to the other isles but deny'd his being first in rank. If weight of body could give weight in rank or power Poulaho was certainly the most eminent man in that respect we had seen, for though not very tall he was of a monstrous size with fat which render'd him very unwieldy and almost shapeless. He had straight hair and his features differ'd a good deal from the bulk of the people; but these differences would not have been sufficient to convince us of his superior rank had we not seen some marks of respect paid him to which we were strangers, for on giving him something to eat two of his attendants fed him and the rest turn'd their backs while he was eating. He made the Captain a present of a hog or two and a quantity of red feathers which he had heard we esteem'd, and in return he had a piece of printed linnen and some other things. In the evening he went on shore to Laifooga, and to show that his corpulence had not render'd him wholly inactive he took a large paddle with which they scull in the fore part of the boat and handled it dexterously enough, but he soon tir'd of the excercise. The Captain went on shore after him and found that all the people on shore brought in the

[1] Fatafehi.

79: Lātūkefu H,1,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 728 salvation to God & our prayers for them, some say why what are they? They wonder they are alive but it must be because their friends have prayed much for them.

669 643 798 The fears of the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu that King George might extend his campaign of destruction of the sacred places and effigies proved justified. Everywhere King George and his warriors went during the war they burnt down and destroyed god-houses, objects of worship, and sacred places. The *vao tapu* (sacred wood) of the famous sanctuary of Ma'ofanga, which had been so sacrosanct that no one could approach it, on pain of death, was cut down and sold to the sailors for firewood. Many of the warriors from the north took back with them, as souvenirs, pieces of wood made into staffs from this sacred place. Later in June, when peace had been restored, Rabone (Journal, 23 June 1837) wrote:

> Last night we walked out to the Mafanga of all others the most sacred place in these islands . . . King George . . . burnt down the spirit houses and now all appears desolation he has planted bananas on the most sacred ground and I was glad to see that the Gods & Devils had not prevented their growth they look well and promise abundant fruit in their season.

798 It was soon clear that, in spite of the return to peace, the heathens had not abandoned their resolve to stop the spread of Christianity. Unfortunately, the Christians themselves furnished some provocation which gave the heathens a pretext for further hostilities.

669 778 825 797 The first incident occurred on 25 July 1837. Describing what happened, Rabone (Journal, 25 July 1837) wrote, 'I fired a loaded gun as a chief who was near the premises at the time rushed in and seized me attempting dragging me about vociferating in the most devilish manner . . . .' Rabone did not say what he was firing at, but Commodore Wilkes (1845:181) said that it was a sacred pigeon which was revered by the people. It is very likely that Rabone acted in ignorance. At Kolovai where he was stationed it was flying foxes and not pigeons which were regarded as sacred. In fact one of the most popular sports among the chiefs was catching pigeons. However, there was a *fa'ahinga* (clan) at Kolovai known as Matapā whose land was adjacent to

/268 cont./

524 565 526 spear tossed high had to hit a wooden disk on impact) (731)

731. Ibid. II. p. 343.

and the distance-throwing of a spear (sika [mamao]) (732)

732. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 126.

by men, as well as the catch game (hiko) with a ball, of women and girls. (733)

733. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 344.

223 565 Shooting kalae birds with bow and arrow (using decoys) was a sport (fana kalae) (734)

734. See ibid. I. pp. 246-248.

carried on only by the big chiefs, just as pigeon catching (sia lupe) (with pole-nets on artificial hills, with the use of stool pigeons) was also a privilege of the nobility. (735)

735. See ibid. II. pp. 341/342; E.W. Gifford, loc. cit. p. 117.

226 526 Likewise to be mentioned are bonito fishing (alo?) (with trolling from a boat) (736)

736. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 342/343.

and surf-riding (fanifo). (737)

737. Ibid. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, loc. cit. p. 299.

526 At large festivals, sporting contests carried out before a multitude of onlookers and under the supervision of referees were very popular. On these occasions there were men's duels with clubs (fetangi?) having thick, green /269/ coconut-palm handles, (738)

738. See J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. pp. 169, 260; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

men's wrestling matches (fangatua) (739)

739. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 169, 211, 260; J. Sparks, The life of John Ledyard /cited in English/. 2nd edition.

526 /269 cont./

Cambridge 1829. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, Voyage de La Perouse.../Voyage of the Perouse/ I. p. 293; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

and boxing matches of men and women (fuhu). (740)

740. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 169/170; J. Sparks, loc. cit. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, loc. cit. I. p. 294; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

A few children's games have also been handed down to us. (741)

[113] 741. See J. D. Whitcombe, "Notes on Tongan Ethnology." /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers. vol. IX no. 9. 1930. pp. 7/8.

In the kamotu'u boys' game one of the boys standing in the center of the circle had to guess who touched him while he had his eyes closed. In the ngali ngali a toke, a boy had to catch one of a row of boys running in a circle. In the touhuhu game the boys had to try to spear with sticks a grapefruit turned on a pole. The boys also occupied themselves with a catapult (tafau), with small bows and arrows and a slingshot (makata) made of tapa or hibiscus bast. Old women played "scare and chase" with small girls by throwing tapa over themselves. Boys and girls tried to "flip" /"dipsen" is evidently a colloquial or dialect expression, and I'm not sure of the meaning. F.S./ pieces of hibiscus wood over a mat set upright (fisi-game)

524 526 198 [223] The games mentioned do not include all, but probably some of the most important activities carried out in ancient Tonga for amusement and diversion. The interest in individual games varied, and the fact that a hunting game such as pigeon catching was already "out of fashion" in 1800 (742)

742. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 341.

leads one to conclude that the number and kinds of games sometimes changed in the course of the centuries-old, autonomous development of Tongan culture.